"THE GOVERNMENT MURDERED MY SISTER AT JONESTOWN" SEE PAGE 3

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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Black Ex-F.B.I. Spy Reveals Kool-Aid Used To Drug Fred Hampton

ASSASSIN OF B.P.P. MEMBERS REPORTED IN GUYANA





Southern California BPP leaders ALPRENTICE "BUNCHY" CARTER (left) and JOHN HUGGINS were murdered by a Black FBI agent-provocateur who is reported to be living in Guyana.

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - A Black undercover FBI agent who shot and killed southern California Black Panther Party leaders Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Jerome Huggins in 1969 may have been in Jonestown, Guyana, when the U.S. murdered over 900 predominantly Black men, women and children at the Peoples Temple settlement.

In a recent *Associated Press* story, Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) Lt. Dan Cooke claimed that police had known Claude Elvin Hubert was in Guyana since 1976, but that the Guyana government had refused to extradite him. Hubert was a paid FBI agent provocateur assigned to the Los Angeles-based, Ron Karenga-led, US organization, a Black nationalist group heavily infiltrated by the Bureau for the purpose of setting up violent confrontations with the BPP in southern California to destroy its leadership.

Black former FBI agent provocateur Darthard Perry said in a sworn affidavit last year that Hubert "executed" Bunchy and John during a meeting at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), on January 17, 1969. BPP members present at the meeting identified Hubert as the assassin on the day of the murders.

Cooke said Hubert was one of four "fugitives" living in Guyana sought by the FBI whom the Bureau feared would try to disguise themselves as Peoples Temple members in order to return to the U.S following the November 18, CIA-led mass genocide in Jonestown. Cooke did not specify if Hubert was in Jonestown. A spokesperson at the San Francisco Peoples Temple said the organization had no knowledge of the Black provocateur.

In his affidavit, Perry who was present at UCLA on January 17, 1969, and saw Hubert kill Bunchy and John, said that following the assassinations, the FBI transferred Hubert to its New York City office.

The two Black men tried and convicted for the UCLA murders were George and Larry

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EX-F.B.I. INFORMANT ADMITS SPYING ON HUEY

(Oakland, Calif.) - The former superintendent of an apartment building where Huey P. Newton once lived has admitted that he served as an FBI informant on the activities of the Black Panther Party leader from 1971 to 1974.

Testifying earlier this month during a hearing in connection with trumped-up murder charges against Huey, Roger DuClot, an aging, balding White man, said that he had freely cooperated with the FBI and the Oakland Police Department (OPD) in spying on Huey because the ex-1200 Lakeshore building superintendent considered the BPP president "the head of a gang of revolutionaries."

"I believe strongly in law and order," DuClot declared, "and as a concerned citizen, I will work with any law enforcement agency."

DuClot's testimony strongly supported Huey's charge that he is the victim of a local and federal law enforcement conspiracy in the case of Kathleen Smith, a Black prostitute whom the BPP leader is falsely charged with shooting to death on August 16, 1974.

FBI documents recently released under the Freedom of Information Act reveal that for nine months prior to Smith's shooting, the OPD and the Berkeley Police Department

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SYNANON'S "VISION OF A NEW SOCIETY" UNDER ATTACK

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - *"The scum of the earth, the dope fiends, the drunks, the crazy, the criminal [were transformed] into a movement that would be a model for society — that, by its example, would change society itself."*

The above statement, made by one of the thousands of drug addicts helped by the Synanon Foundation since its inception 20 years ago, points to the primary reason the organization has come under increasing government and media attack in recent months — an attack almost identical to that launched against Peoples Temple.

Founded in 1958 by Charles Dederich, who was determined to rehabilitate himself from alcoholism, the services of the Synanon foundation have expanded beyond the original focus on drug addicts and alcoholics.

The organization now operates a school for youth and also provides services for the mentally disabled. In addition, each year thousands of people throughout the country receive free food, shoes, clothing and other necessities of life from Synanon.

As word of Synanon's success in rehabilitating drug addicts and alcoholics spread during the 1960's, doctors, psychologists, psychiatrists and sociologists and

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Editorial

THE JONESTOWN COVERUP

The Jonestown dead must be buried, and they must be buried properly.

Congressman Ryan and the four people who died with him each had funerals. Their bodies were positively identified. It smacks of racism that this government could care less about the identities of the over 900 predominantly Black and poor people who were murdered at Jonestown.

It was not enough for the government to lie and tell us that 900 people living in a new society free of America's oppression committed suicide. Insult has now been added to injury.

First of all, the families of the dead are being told that the bodies of their relatives may *never* be positively identified.

Then, the U.S. military, which sent thousands of young Black and poor men to their deaths in Vietnam, has the audacity to *order* the families not to open the caskets.

Finally, grief-stricken mothers and fathers are being told that their loved ones will be cremated in Dover, Delaware, if they cannot come up with $400-$600 (per body) to transport the bodies home.

It makes no difference to the CIA and the FBI that a Black mother may cremate someone else's children besides her own.

This is nothing more than a coverup of the mass genocide of November 18, a coverup that was to be expected. A murderer does not deliberately expose himself.

The callous, blatantly racist treatment given by the government to the grieving families is a further sign of the decadence of American society, a decadence that Peoples Temple has struggled against over the years.

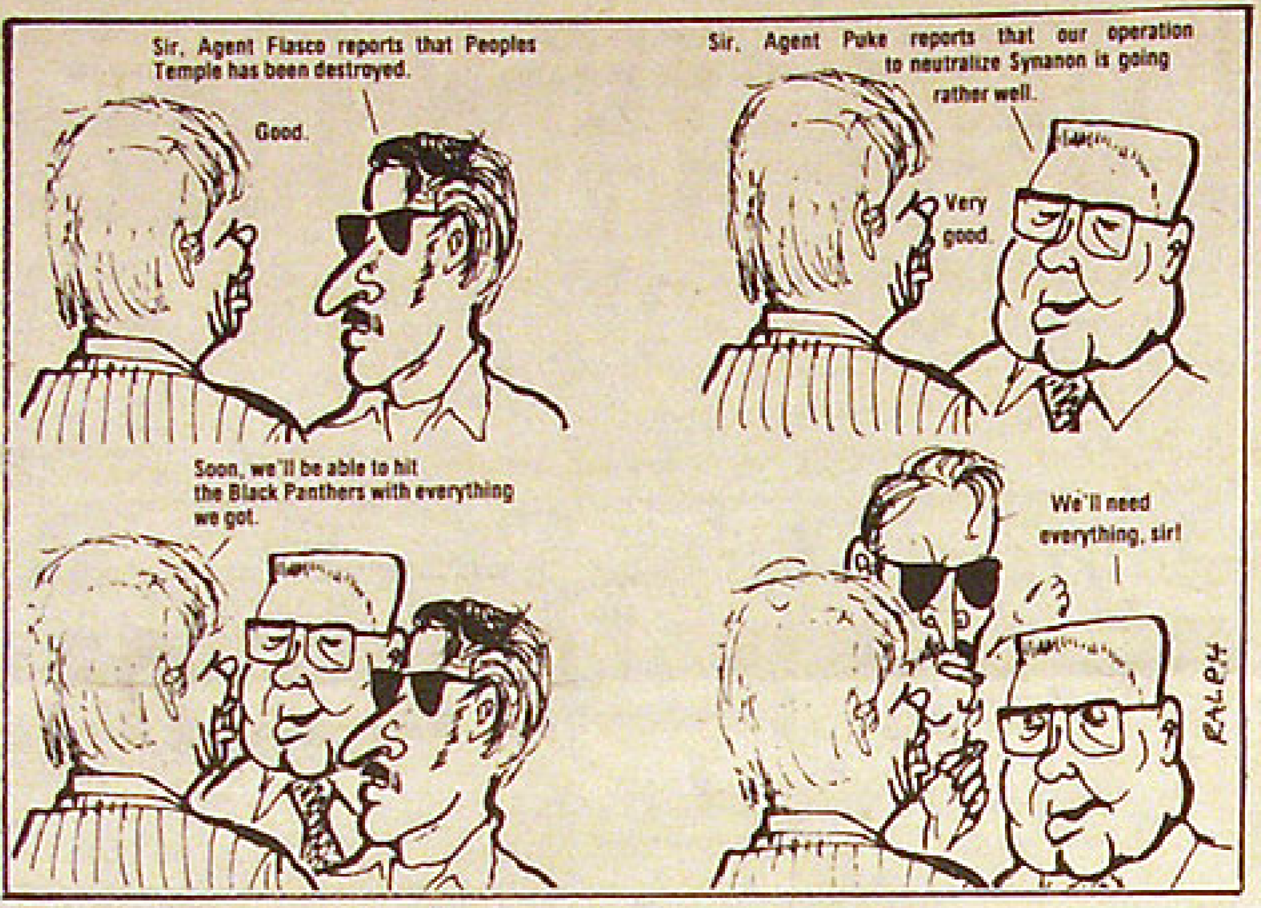
Black and poor people have always had to take care of their own in order to survive in this country, and the present is no exception. We must begin to uncover the truth of the Guyana massacre. If you lost a family member at Jonestown, *demand* that you be allowed to view the body. Don't let anybody tell you that you can't because they will only be trying to cover up their treachery. □

The Black Panther

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Fallen Comrades

STERLING JONES

Assassinated: December 25, 1969



Comrades Fred Hampton and Mark Clark had been assassinated only three weeks when the Chicago Police Department struck again at the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party. On Christmas Day, 1969, Sterling Jones, 17, a member of the Illinois BPP Chapter, responded to a knock at his family's apartment door. As Sterling opened the door, he was shot directly in the face by an unknown assailant. The bullet killed young Comrade Sterling. His assassin was never brought to justice.

Long Live the Spirit of Comrade Sterling Jones! Long Live the People's Struggle!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

"JONES DIDN'T PLANT PARANOIA AGAINST THE SYSTEM"

No one will ever know the answer, because the principals are all dead. But it doesn't take an expert to see that there are quite a few people who are dissatisfied with the dreams that America offers before dashing its citizen's hopes with deceit, bias, and contradictions.

Short-sighted individuals will blame Jim Jones for the murder of a U.S. congressman, three members of the media, a disenchanted follower, and 915 faithful believers. That's too easy.

The real culprit is the institution that America has become. The fundamental principles of liberty, justice, and freedom for all, with emphasis on the rights of others, have been ground under by racism, dishonesty, deceit, and mistrust. The Founding Fathers have turned over in their graves a hundred times at the unethical and immoral events that have been perpetrated in this country in the name of democracy.

Historians have sensed a decline in the country's fortunes during the past 20 years, as more opponents of democracy continue to point out its inadequacies. For minorities, the future has always been dim. The media made their contribution to the catastrophic events that occurred at Jonestown.

Ever since Watergate and Koreagate splashed the headlines, journalists have sifted through the rubble of dealings in politics, industry, and religious multitudes. The glamour of investigative reporting and exposes has given birth to a new brand of journalism, or is it old? Negative reporting seems to have found its way into all the communications media. The dirtier, the better, to inform our readers that something is rotten.

For an oppressed people (most of the Temple members were minorities) their future on earth appeared more depressing if their utopia were destroyed by fact-finding committees and investigations. Jones didn't plant the paranoia against the system. The seeds of suspicion and anxiety reside in minorities almost from birth.

Huel Washington
San Francisco Sun Reporter "Perspectives"

Comment:

"Days Of Heaven" Focuses On Warped American Dream

The following Comment, excerpted from Time *magazine, discusses the popular new film* Days of Heaven, *produced by Bert Schneider, the Academy Award-winning director of the Vietnam documentary,* Hearts and Minds.

Like *Badlands*, director Terrence Malick's remarkable first film, his new work, is a bleak and unstinting attack on America's materialistic culture.

In *Days of Heaven* he tells of a migrant worker, Bill (Richard Gere), who travels from Chicago with his lover Abby (Brooke Adams) and his kid sister Linda (Linda Manz) to harvest wheat for an aristocratic Texas farmer (playwright Sam Shepard).

Tired of "nosing around like a pig" and infuriated by his employer's wealth, Bill decides to use the beautiful Abby to swindle the farmer out of his fortune. No sooner does the scheme get going, however, than Abby falls in love with her prey.

Out of this slender tale, Malick constructs a complex web of moral ambiguities. He invites us to sympathize with the criminal Bill and Abby, who have a right to revolt against poverty.

But he also arouses our affection for the privileged farmer, a kind and sickly man whose riches pay off only in loneliness and boredom. To Malick, all these people are victims of their innocent faith in a warped American dream. Their tragedy is that they blame themselves, rather than their false ideals, for the misery of their lives.

The real meaning of *Days of Heaven* emerges from its images, not its players. Nowhere is this more evident than in the film's final scenes, when the action shifts from the farm to a bustling nearby town of 1917. Suddenly we are in the death throes of oldtime America: smiling doughboys hop on trains to the blare of brass bands.

At that moment *Days of Heaven* effortlessly transcends its own story to prefigure the history of an era. As Malick's characters lost their innocence on a ravaged wheatfield in Texas, so would a nation on the bloody battlefields of the first World War. □

Peoples Temple "Hit List" Exposed As Fake

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Giving further proof to the growing widespread belief that Peoples Temple and its assassinated founder and leader, Rev. Jim Jones, were victims of a U.S. government conspiracy, law enforcement officials here have admitted that the alleged Temple "hit list" is a fake.

According to a banner front-page article in the December 6 issue of the *San Francisco Examiner*, "Investigators admit the Peoples Temple 'hit list' is based on rumor, speculation, and outdated information. Some law enforcement officials called the list a joke.

"The whole damn thing might be paranoia," said one investigator in describing the list of public officials allegedly slated for assassination by Temple members.

The San Francisco district attorney's office devised the list on November 19, the day after the mass genocide in Jonestown, as part of the well-coordinated government-media plot to discredit Peoples Temple and Jones and to create, in the minds of the public, a justification for the destruction of the thriving Jonestown settlement.

One San Francisco "investigator" said the list, which grew to more than 60 names, included virtually every remaining member now living in the San Francisco headquarters.

"No documents — not one shred of paper — have been found so far to substantiate the hit lists. The lists are based solely on word of mouth, sometimes only one source, and often from persons who have not been associated with the Temple for years," the *Examiner* admitted.

"Some of the names I saw," said Ukiah (Mendocino County) police chief Don Saulsbury, "Well, there is no way I would consider these people to be trained assassins. Let's just say the list is based on rumor, inference and innuendo," Saulsbury added.

The original "hit lists," which contained names of alleged assassins and victims whose names were usually misspelled, was concocted by the FBI and other law enforcement agencies based on information from ex-Temple members who now live together at the "Human Freedom Center" in Berkeley. □

EXCLUSIVE BLACK PANTHER INTERVIEW

"THE GOVERNMENT MURDERED MY SISTER AT JONESTOWN"

(Oakland, Calif.) - December 13 marked the 32nd birthday of a Black woman, who, along with her nine-year-old daughter and over 900 other people, died at Jonestown, Guyana, on November 18, 1978.

Her sister and the hundreds of grief-stricken families of the Jonestown genocide victims, full of unanswered questions about how their loved ones really died, now face the additional pain of not being able to identify the bodies of their mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, and cousins.

Many families are convinced that their loved ones did not commit suicide.

In the following conversation with THE BLACK PANTHER, a young Black woman, the mother of four children, shares her anger and firm belief that her sister did not commit suicide at Jonestown but was murdered by the U.S. government because she sought life in a society free of racism and oppression.

The woman's name is being withheld to protect her from government reprisals.



Happy people, like the woman and child above, were murdered in Jonestown.

QUESTION: How long had your sister been in Guyana?

ANSWER: She went to South America this past September, but she had been a member of Peoples Temple in San Francisco for four years.

Q: Have the bodies of your sister and niece been positively identified.

A: My mother and I called Dover, Delaware, and they said we would not be able to see or view the bodies. They said we would not be able to open the caskets. They didn't say why, but I'm going to keep delving until I find out why.

I've been told my sister has been positively identified, but we have to assume the identity of my niece.

My mother wants me to decide what we should do, and I suggested that we have the bodies cremated and the ashes sent back to us.

But how can we really be sure it's my sister and niece? I told mama that we could be paying funeral and burial expenses for any of the other victims, even some of the murderers.

Q: How much would it cost you to being the bodies back to your home?

A: Two figures were quoted to me. One was $450 per body and one was $600, and that's just for transportation back from Dover. My mother and I can't afford the cost.

Q: How did your sister feel about Peoples Temple?

A: She had to have believed and she had to have been shown something that was more positive than the conditions here.

The Temple had a convention before she left for South America in the city where my mother lives. Mama said my sister was in a good frame of mind, and everything was so positive.

She told my mother she was preparing to go to South America because she wanted to be free. She said that there would be plenty of food there for everyone.

Q: Do you believe that all those people killed themselves?



Jonestown residents were hard at work creating a new and better society.

A: I *know* that they didn't kill themselves. There were just too many people. A person's life is everything. Those people were murdered. I feel the CIA and FBI had a lot to do with it.

My mother said she knows my sister did not kill herself or my niece.

Q: Why do you think they were murdered?

A: They were after life, not death. They weren't on any death trips.

All those acres of land they had down there, everything was ripe. The fields were beautiful and full. When the government finished with it, it was lifeless.

It was a ridicule on the United States of America, which is supposed to be the epitome of the place for people to live in, for this group of people to leave the country. We know all the treacherous things that go on here in America.

Jonestown was a good example of people being able to survive under different conditions than this society. I think the United States could not take that.

Rev. Jones was shot, one bullet in his head. To me that was a gangland-style killing because it was in the back of his head.

Q: What do you feel that people like yourself who lost loved ones at Jonestown can do to obtain justice?

A: It's so hard to go to the murderers and say to them, "You murdered my sister. What are you going to do about it?" I am going to continue to ask questions and find out as much about the truth as I can. □

MEDIA STEPS UP CAMPAIGN AGAINST PEOPLES TEMPLE

JONESTOWN BOOK RELEASED, MOVIE BEGUN

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The campaign of the American establishment media against Peoples Temple has escalated with the nationwide distribution of a book published by Bantam Books, Inc., entitled the *Suicide Cult*.

Copyrighted by the *San Francisco Chronicle* and authored by two of its reporters, Ron Javers and Marshall Kilduff, *Suicide Cult* appeared on the newsstands *less than three weeks* after the Jonestown genocide.

Javers was at the Kaituma airstrip when Congressman Leo Ryan and four others were killed on November 18. Kalduff has written a number of articles on the Temple over the last two years.

Given the concrete evidence of a government conspiracy against the Temple exposed in the last issue of THE BLACK PANTHER, many supporters of the organization believe *Suicide Cult* was completed before the Guyana mass murders.

The December 18 issue of *New West* magazine features a slanderous cover story headlined "The Making of a Madman — How Jim Jones Seduced San Francisco."

Beneath the headline is an ugly drawing of the Peoples Temple founder, whose glazed eyes make him appear like something out of "Creature Features."

Not content with books and magazine articles, the media announced December 10 that a $2.2 million film on Jonestown is already in the making and will be ready for distribution next spring.

Called the *Guyana Massacre*, the film is directed by Tope Harper, whose previous films include the trashy *Texas Chainsaw Massacre*.

Meanwhile, a team of researchers of *Freedom*, the monthly journal of the Church of Scientology, has uncovered indications that the U.S. Justice Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation are still continuing campaigns of media manipulation aimed at altering the public's perception of poor people's groups and political activists.

The presently available evidence, based on interviews with knowledgeable sources in media and government, casts serious doubt on Justice Department claims that the practice — which was widely used by the FBI and others for more than four decades — ended prior to 1976 with its exposure during Senate hearings on domestic intelligence abuses.



Class at Jonestown, Guyana, before its destruction.

Those hearings disclosed a long history of intelligence agency abuses, including a long-entrenched FBI-Justice Department media campaign which included the dissemination of unfavorable, inflammatory and often false information to the public via "friendly news sources" in the media.

The targets of the campaign of news manipulation included a broad spectrum of antiwar, civil rights and social reform organizations.

A spokesperson for the Justice Department and the FBI denied the continued existence of the selected "leaking" operations when contacted by *Freedom*.

But a dissenting former Justice Department official, only recently departed from his duties, disputed the official contention that the policy of manipulating public perception through the use of "friends" in the media had ended in the early 1970's.

"The department's media operations policy was still in effect last year (1977) and I have seen nothing to make me believe that it isn't in operation now," he said.

"Sure, it's still going on," said a top investigative journalist in Washington. "I could give you the names of two persons who are involved in this kind of activity, off the top of my head."

Jon Newhall, co-founder and editor of a West Coast news service which has followed recent Justice Department conduct in regards to a search and seizure whose legality is currently being Constitutionally challenged, says:

"I think it smacks of 1984 when government agents can seize

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Community Questions Education Board

(Oakland, Calif.)- The Black and poor community of East Oakland came out in force recently to question the Alameda County Board of Education at a meeting held at the Oakland Community Learning Center. The meeting was held there at the request of Oakland Community School Director and Board member, ERICKA HUGGINS (far left), shown above with Board members ROBERT MOTTA, CHARLES DEADRICH, MARY HARDY and CHARLES CONLIN.

BPINS photo

The F.B.I. Plot Against Black Leaders

Beginning in 1967, the FBI launched a systematic campaign to spy on, harass, discredit and murder Black American leaders, among them Huey P. Newton, Malcolm X, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the late Congressman Adam Clayton Powell.

Part 2 of the following article, excerpted from a longer piece written by Iris L. Washington for the October, 1978, issue of Essence *magazine, details the vicious FBI conspiracy. As the editors of* Essence *warn: "It would be suicidal for us as a people to believe that all is over and done with...Our history reveals that even nonviolent dissent provokes quick counter-moves and attacks from those in power."*

PART 2

In October, 1966, Huey P. Newton, angered over White racism and police brutality, decided to organize the Black Panther Party.

"We're oppressed," said Newton then, "not as individuals but as a whole group of people.... We believe that the Black community of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction."

The Panthers were a community-based political party with praiseworthy aspirations. Their 10-point program set out to achieve, among other objectives, an end to police brutality, full employment, education geared to the Black community, decent housing and political and economic control of the community.

ARMED CLASHES

The Panthers' audacious armed clashes with police and their revolutionary philosophy stunned the nation. They also brought an immediate reaction from the FBI, which quickly mobilized COINTELPRO operations to destroy the Party.

FBI agents swarmed like locusts upon the Panthers. But the Party's number eventually swelled to 3,000 to 4,000 active members and no less than 38 chapters. "They did everything to destroy us," said one former BPP leader.

"Everything" ranged from creating rivalries between the Party and Ron Karenga's Los Angeles-based US and between the Party and Chicago's Black P.

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PROGRESSIVE SUPERVISORS HURT IN MYSTERIOUS CAR ACCIDENT

RIGHT-WING'S FEINSTEIN TAKES OVER AS S.F. MAYOR

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The Black, poor and gay communities here have received a severe setback with the appointment of arch-conservative Dianne Feinstein to fill out the remaining term of assassinated Mayor George Moscone.

Feinstein, former president of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, previously ran twice for mayor, once against Moscone. The late mayor and gay Supervisor Harvey Milk were shot to death at city hall on November 27 by former Supervisor Dan White in what many poor people believe was a right-wing conspiracy to eliminate the progressive political leadership of Moscone and Milk.

White may escape with little or no punishment for the Moscone-Milk slayings. On December 11, White's attorney announced that his client will plead not guilty by reason of insanity when he comes to trial.

Under California's recently expanded criminal insanity laws, White could possibly be absolved of the murder.

Feinstein now has the power to appoint the two remaining vacancies on the Board of Supervisors, the seats once occupied by Milk and herself. In accordance with the plans of Moscone, she appointed Dan Horanzy to replace White.

HOSPITALIZED

Meanwhile, the two remaining progressive supervisors, Ella Hill Hutch, who is Black, and Lee Dolson, were hospitalized for several days earlier this month after being injured in a car accident — an accident that may well have been planned.

The two supervisors were riding in an unmarked police car that was struck by a car that allegedly ran a red light.

Regarding a successor to Milk, many people in the gay community are behind his administrative assistant, lesbian activist Anne Kronenberg. Feinstein has hedged on making an appointment to Milk's post. In all likelihood because she is looking for a gay person who shares her conservative political views and can placate the gay community.

Milk left behind a tape — on which he predicted he would be assassinated — in which he states his support of Kronenberg, Bob Ross, editor of the *BAR*, a gay newspaper, and Harry Britt, president of the Gay Democratic Club.

Democratic party activist Jim Foster, lesbian leader Jo Daly and Frank Fitch, president of the gay-oriented Alice B. Toklas Democratic Club, were described on the tape as enemies that Milk declared he did not want to replace him.

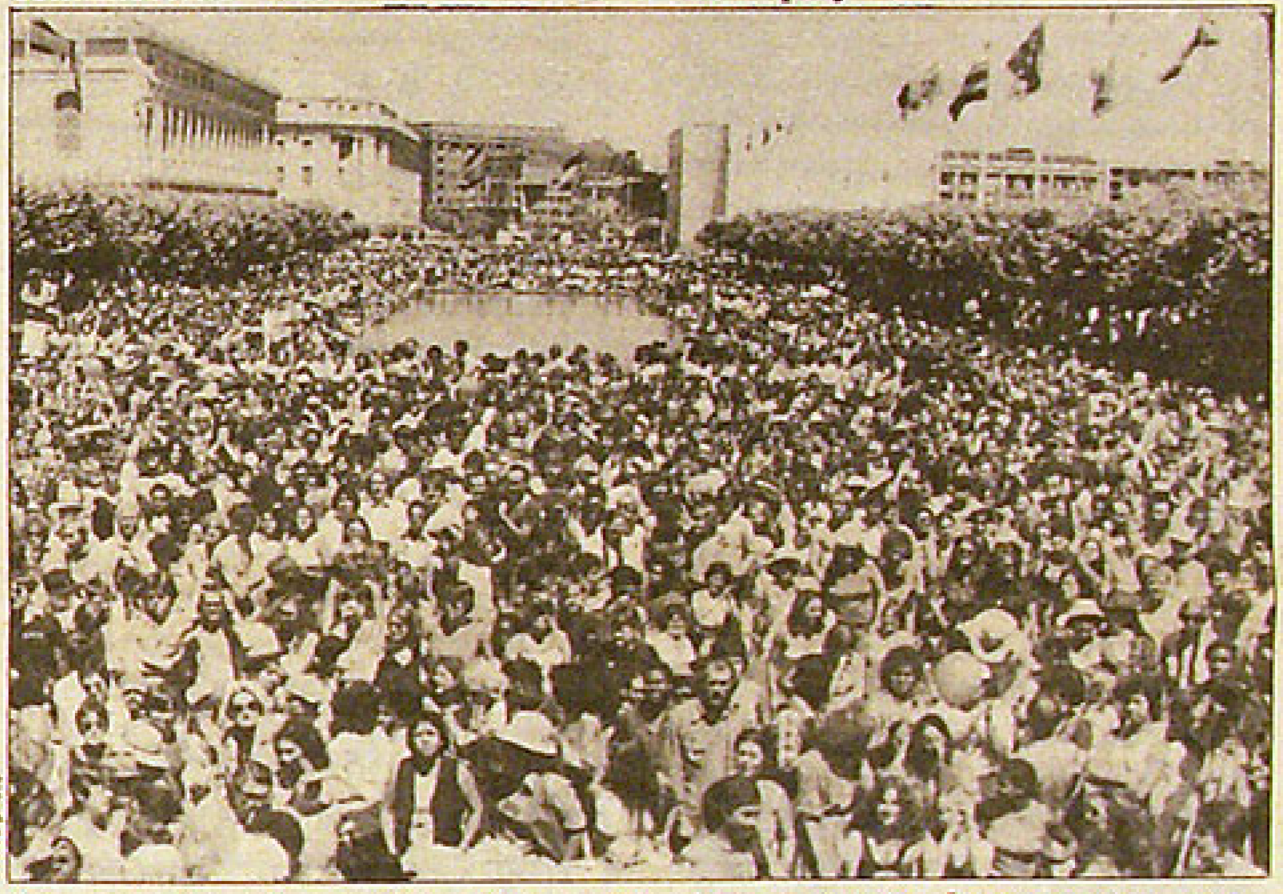
Feinstein has made it clear whose interests she intends to serve.

"I have heard complaints," she said, "from the business community and from many ordinary, tax-paying, small homeowners. I think the time has come when we must go one step further in broadening the membership of city boards and commissions and see that all groups in the city feel represented."

Prior to the murders of Moscone and Milk, many of these groups to whom Feinstein referred complained that city government was too "liberal."

Feinstein's first meeting after she was appointed mayor was with police chief Charles Gain. Her instructions to him were blunt — "clean up" Union Square and recruit more police.

She made no mention of social programs to prevent the root cause of crime in such areas as the city's Tenderloin district — unemployment.□



Gay people, shown above in a major demonstration last summer, are an imporant political force in San Francisco.

Text Of Tape Made By Slain Supervisor Harvey Milk

"I know that when a person is assassinated after they have achieved victory, there are several tendencies. One is to have some people go crazy in the streets, angry and frustrated, and the other is to have a big show or splash.

"Naturally I wanted neither."

"I cannot prevent anyone from getting angry or mad or frustrated. I can only hope they'll turn that anger and frustration and madness into something positive so that hundreds will come out, gay lawyers, gay judges, gay bankers, gay architects...I hope that every professional gay will just say, 'Enough!' come forward and tell everybody, 'Wear a sign, let the world know'...

"These are my strong requests, knowing that it could happen. Hoping it doesn't...and if it does, I think I've already achieved something.

"I think that it's been worth it."



Paramilitary Journalism: The Media Prosecution Of Huey P. Newton

Huey P. Newton has been unjustly tried in the American press as well as the courts, write noted researchers John Keilch and Donald Freed in Part 2 of the following article. The informative feature article discusses the vicious, unfounded "criminal" charges made against Huey in the press since his return last year from forced exile in Cuba.

PART 2

"There is even a secret wing of the Panthers," the *New Times* article continues, "known within the Party as 'the Squad,' " to administer the brutality. And at the center of it all is Panther founder Huey P. Newton."

Then for 20 pages, *New Times* details its accusations against Huey. Charges against him in three separate prosecutions pending when the article was published are given prominence. Since then, however, the BPP leader has been exonerated in two of the cases.

In July, Judge William Kelsay dismissed as unfounded charges against Huey in Santa Cruz, California, where Newton is studying for his Ph.D. Huey had been jumped and robbed by White toughs when he unwittingly entered a "Whites only" bar, but Santa Cruz police had arrested Huey, not his assailants.

In August, Oakland tailor Preston Callins, portrayed by the district attorney as the victim of a pistol-whipping by Huey, insisted and complained of police coercion to testify otherwise. Although jailed for 13 days by Judge Joseph Karesh in September, Callins still refused to testify against Huey, who was found innocent of the false charges.

Huey will go on trial on the most serious charge — murder — in January. He is charged with shooting a 17-year-old prostitute on the street here in August, 1974. Strangely, *New Times* devotes only five paragraphs to this case. The reason may be that the prosecution's case, as outlined in the preliminary hearing a year ago, appears contrived.

At that time, Oakland police sergeant Richard Brierly testified that he received information implicating Huey from "an anonymous source." Brierly testified that he did not bother to investigate an individual named by the victim's mother and boyfriend as her probable killer.

TO BE CONTINUED

STAY OF EXECUTION IN UTAH

BLACK DEATH ROW INMATES CHALLENGE CALIF. DEATH PENALTY

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The case of Ernest E. Graham and Eugene Allen, two Black inmates who face execution in San Quentin prison's gas chamber, went before the California Supreme Court earlier this month along with another death penalty case, both of which provide the first challenges in the high court to the state's revised capital punishment law enacted last year.

Attorneys for Graham, 26, and Allen, 24, argued that all Black prospective jurors for their trial on charges of killing a Deuel Vocational Institution guard in 1973 were systematically eliminated, thus violating the pair's right to a trial by a jury of their peers.

Ezra Hendon, the state's chief assistant public defender, and attorney James Larson also challenged the 1973 death penalty law under which the two Black inmates were sentenced for not containing provisions for considering mitigating circumstances.

The 1973 law mandated the death penalty for prisoners serving life terms convicted of killing a prison guard.

Twice in the past six years, the supreme court has struck down capital punishment.

The case of Gregory John Teron, Jr. focuses on two questions: whether the White 25-year-old San Quentin inmate can be executed for a murder he allegedly committed in an incident which took place before the new law took effect, and whether Teron should have been allowed to represent himself — presenting no defense — in what an attorney charged was the state's attempt to assist in a defendant's desire to "commit suicide."

Beyond that, the case also raises the issue of whether the 1977 law violates state and federal Constitutional prohibitions against cruel and unusual punishment — the grounds the California court used to invalidate the death penalty in 1972 and 1976.

The state court could decide the case on the broader Constitutional grounds, rejecting or upholding capital punishment itself.

Attorneys for Graham and Allen noted that, at their clients second trial in San Francisco, all 15 Blacks on the panel of prospective jurors were excluded by preemptory challenges, some of them without even being asked questions. At the pair's first trial in Stockton, there was one Black on the jury who held out for a mistrial.

Defense attorneys noted that the U.S. Supreme Court has recently ruled against mandatory death sentences, including the killing of a policeman.

As a result of that decision, the California court was forced to strike down the state's death penalty in 1976. The ruling, however, did not deal with the specific statute concerning the murder of prison guards.

The defense also told the court that because one-third of California's prison population in 1973 was serving life sentences — indeterminate sentencing was then in effect — the category was too broad to be legal.

A demonstration in support of Graham and Allen was held outside the State Building December 5, the first day oral arguments were presented to the high court.



"The U.S. government has always used the death penalty as a tool of genocide against Black people. Fifty-four per cent of the people executed since 1930 have been Black."

WORLD PERSPECTIVE

Police Search Rights Upheld

(Washington, D.C.) - The Supreme Court in a decision criticized by four members as lacking "common sense," ruled recently that automobile passengers have no legal right to challenge a police search of the car or resulting seizure of evidence. The decision apparently applies also to persons who might borrow and operate a friend's car.

The high court has agreed to rule whether police must stop interrogating a suspect if he talks to them freely but refuses to sign a written waiver of his "Miranda" rights against self-incrimination.

In its milestone Miranda ruling of 1966, the U.S. Supreme Court held that a suspect in police custody must be given notice before questioning that he has a right to a lawyer; a right to remain silent; and that any statement he makes may be used against him.

Gay Victory In Military

(Washington, D.C.) - In a victory for the gay rights movement, the U.S. court of Appeals has told the Pentagon that it cannot discharge gay people from the military without offering specific reasons in addition to their sexual preference. The appellate court overturned a lower court ruling that had upheld the discharges of Air Force Technical Sergeant Leonard Matlovich, a candidate for late Supervisor Harvey Milk's seat, and Navy Ensign Vernon Berg III, two gay rights activists. The unanimous decision throws the issue of gay people serving in the armed forces back to the Defense Department.

Black Soldiers Increase

(Washington, D.C.) - The percentage of Black soldiers in the Army's enlisted ranks has doubled over the past eight years, a Pentagon report showed recently. The report, covering Pentagon recruiting in the past year, disclosed that Black representation in the Army has risen to a record 28 per cent, compared with 14 per cent in 1970 before the draft ended. All the armed services reported increases in Black percentages among their enlisted personnel, an increase directly related to the skyrocketing rate of Black unemployment.

Western Summit Meeting Set

(Washington, D.C.) - President Carter and the leaders of France, Britain and West Germany will meet next month in an extraordinary top secret summit on the Caribbean island of Guadeloupe. In making the announcement Carter said he will brief the others on details of a nearly complete strategic arms agreement. He said the U.S. and Soviet Union are separated in the arms talks by only minor differences.

Discussions at Guadeloupe are to cover a variety of subjects, but no public announcements or daily news briefings are planned.

Nicaraguan Guerrillas Reject Amnesty

(Managua, Nicaragua) - President Anastasio Somoza has claimed he wants a sweeping amnesty freeing political prisoners approved by Christmas, but guerrilla leaders rejected direct talks until all those behind bars are "on the streets." Somoza said he had sent the Nicaraguan Congress a four-article bill to grant unconditional amnesty to civilian and military persons charged with political crimes in the last 11 years. The Sandinista National Liberation Front is expected to reject amnesty because Somoza is still in power.

Angolan Officials Removed

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - Angolan President Agostinho Neto has reportedly abolished the posts of prime minister and deputy prime minister. His announcement followed a news statement that Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento and Economics Minister Carlos Rocha Dilowa were removed from their government and politburo posts by the government central committee.

28 BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS MURDERED BY U.S. GOVERNMENT

Long before Synanon and Peoples Temple came under government attack, the Black Panther Party was subjected to hundreds of police raids and shootings, unjustified arrests and imprisonments in its chapters and branches across the country. No political organization in the history of America has been subjected to such intense surveillance and harassment as the BPP, harassment that stretches over the 12 years of the Party's existence.

Senate Intelligence Committee hearings held in 1976 revealed that 90 per cent of the FBI Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) activities were directed against the Party, activities that included the assassination of 28 BPP members from 1968 to 1974.

The following article, Part 1 of which follows, is a tribute to the Fallen Comrades of the Black Panther Party, who, like the 900 Black and poor people slaughtered at Jonestown, were murdered by the U.S. government in its unsuccessful attempt to crush the liberation movement in this country. **PART 1**



ARTHUR MORRIS
Assassinated:
March, 1968

The brother of Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, the founder of the Southern California Chapter of the BPP, Arthur was shot and killed in Los Angeles by agents of the U.S. government.



BOBBY HUTTON
Assassinated:
April 6, 1968

"L'il" Bobby was one of the first Party members, joining at the age of 14 in 1966. Bobby was murdered two days after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Unarmed, he was shot to death by dozens of Oakland police as he came out of a house.

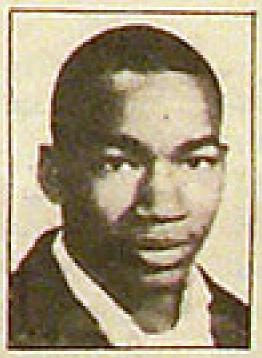




STEVE BARTHOLEMEW, ROBERT LAWRENCE, TOMMY LEWIS
Assassinated:
August 25, 1968



Young Steve Bartholemew, Robert Lawrence and Tommy Lewis, members of the Southern California Chapter of the BPP were riding in a car when they noticed that a Los Angeles police squad car was suddenly on their tail. Since they had been followed previously that same day, the three Black youth stopped at a gas station so that any incident could be witnessed by the community. When they stopped at the gas station, the squad car stopped behind them. As Steve, 21, got out of the car a volley of police gunfire killed him instantly. Robert, 22, was killed as he got out of the car to ask why Steve had been shot. Tommy, 18, the youngest of the three, having seen Steve and Robert shot in cold blood was severely wounded as he left the car to defend his life by firing back at the police. Bleeding profusely, yet still alive upon arrival at a Los Angeles hospital, Tommy was left unattended for more than two hours, causing him to bleed to death.



WELTON ARMSTEAD
Assassinated:
October 15, 1968

Welton, age 17, was the victim of an unwarranted police manhunt in Seattle, Washington. When police converged on the home of one of his friends, Welton borrowed his rifle and was cut down as he defended himself.

"THE REVOLUTIONARY MUST ALWAYS BE PREPARED TO FACE DEATH."
HUEY P. NEWTON

SIDNEY MILLER
Assassinated:
November 7, 1968



Twenty-two days after the murder of Welton Armstead Comrade Sidney Miller, 21, was shot point blank in the head as he was leaving a Seattle grocery store. A White racist businessman said he thought Sidney was going to rob the store.



FRANK DIGGS
Assassinated:
December 30, 1968

Frank "Franko" Diggs, a member of the Southern California chapter, was 40 years old when he was murdered by police. His body was found in an alley on the outskirts of Los Angeles, after he had been missing for a period of time. The autopsy report revealed that Franko had been shot to death.





ALPRENTICE "BUNCHY" CARTER
JOHN JEROME HUGGINS
Assassinated: January 17, 1969

"Bunchy" was the organizer and Deputy Minister of Defense of the Southern California BPP Chapter. John was Deputy Minister of Information. On January 17, 1969, the two Chapter leaders were assassinated by FBI agent-provocateur Claude Hubert while they were organizing Black students at the University of California, Los Angeles.



ALEX RACKLEY
Assassinated:
May 12, 1969

Alex, a member of the New York State Chapter of the Party was killed by a police agent, George Sams, who had infiltrated the Party. It was Sams who concocted the false story which led to the arrest of Ericka Huggins, Bobby Seale and 13 other BPP members for murdering Alex.

JOHN SAVAGE
Assassinated:
May 23, 1969



On Friday, May 23, 1969, John and another Party member, Jeffrey Jennings, were walking toward the office of the San Diego BPP Branch, when they met up with an US organization member named "Tambozi". As the comrades walked by, Tambozi grabbed John by the shoulder, jammed a .38 automatic into the back of his neck and pulled the trigger. John, 24, died instantly.



SYLVESTER BELL
Assassinated:
August 15, 1969

On August 15, 1969, Sylvester, 34, was assassinated by members of the US organization. The murder came at the time of the trial of US organization members in Los Angeles involved in the murders of Bunchy and John.

LARRY ROBERSON
Assassinated:
September 4, 1969



On the morning of July 14, 1969, Larry, 20, and Grady "Slim" Moore, members of the Chicago Chapter of the BPP, noticed the police harassing a group of elderly Black men, forcing them to line up against a wall. Upon the two comrades' investigation, an argument arose, and the police pulled their guns and started shooting. They critically wounded Larry in the stomach, thigh and leg, but not before he managed to wound two of his police assailants. Larry died in Cook County Hospital on September 4, 1969.

TO BE CONTINUED

Special Feature

"THE ATROCITY OF EDUCATION"

By Dr. Arthur Pearl PART 10

Tom Wolfe looks at the desperate and the despairing in their quest for pleasure. *The Pump House Gang* ranges far to find the worlds of "happiness" people make for themselves, and *he* thinks they have succeeded: "What struck me throughout America and England was that so many people have found such novel ways of just that, *enjoying*, extending their egos way out in the best terms available, namely their own. It is curious how many serious thinkers — and politicians — resent this obvious fact."

I think I qualify as both a serious thinker and as a politician. I find Tom Wolfe to be witty and scathing, but his lacerations barely break the skin. His pleasure-seekers don't come across as having much of a good time. Hugh Hefner, who created his own "statusphere"; the Pump House Gang, middle-class dropouts who surf almost all the time and kill themselves only sometimes; Britishers who act as though they are Americans; Carol Doda, who asked the question, Can a girl with a 35-inch bust find happiness in America? and, having answered in the negative, pumped herself up to 44 inches; owners of a taxicab company who make it big as Pop Art connoisseurs; society folks who delight in four-letter expletives; Columbus, Ohioans, who speed on motorcycles — none quite pull it off. Sure, they are out there doing their different things, but none come across as truly gratified. What Wolfe describes is a synthetic enjoyment. The people he describes did not get where they are through reflection or through sampling different kinds of enjoyments. They got there as a reaction to even less gratifying alternatives. Only a tiny minority among us will find genuine pleasure rebounding from one dissatisfaction to another. The majority will learn to enjoy only if there is opportunity to explore and savor. The school is the logical place for such experiences.

Every aspect of school should be pleasurable. Preparation for work roles, citizenship roles, and culture-carrying roles should be personally gratifying. In no instance should a student be made to feel that school is a cross he has to bear.

Traditional vocational education is more likely suited for avocational pursuits. Walter Kerr is sorely annoyed because some modern business big shots find themselves only when they are building a spare room on the house. If a person can weigh a large variety of enterprises and find that through carpentry he gains a sense of competence, usefulness, and personal wholeness, what's wrong with that? My quarrel is that many persons aren't given that choice. If they are in "college prep" in high school, they are either forbidden or discouraged from taking shop.

Every student should be given the opportunity to explore art in its multivarious forms. Each community should have its artists in residence — persons who would be encouraged to inspire by example, encouraging others to become involved in aesthetic activities. One of the most memorable experiences for me was to watch Diego Rivera paint a mural in the 1939 San Francisco World's Fair. Every community should have access to funds with which they could entice poets, or novelists, or sculptors, or composers, or painters, or other virtuosos. The contract negotiated between the community representative and the artist would require accountability from both parties. The community would provide the base of operation, the opportunity for the artist to develop his art. The artist in turn would pledge to be a member of the community — to participate in community activities and to be available to discuss with others *his* aims, *his* aspirations as well as respond to the concerns of others in the community. Twenty thousand such artists in colleges, high schools, and grammar schools could be obtained for 2.5 million dollars a year, which is considerably less than one week's cost of conducting the war in Vietnam.

Counselors and teachers should be trained to work constructively with students who are at loose ends and, while not miserable, are not happy. The absence of happiness should be of concern to all school officials. And while the school cannot or should not protect the student from life's harsh realities, there is no reason for allowing anyone to be overwhelmed by them:

> "At the time of writing this book I launched another career. I decided to run for Governor of the State of Oregon. One of the intents of the campaign was to make politics enjoyable. I specifically requested of persons interested in my behalf that "no masochists need apply." A colleague at the University became infuriated (he even wrote a letter to the local newspaper). He argued that political matters were too serious for enjoyment. It really is very much the other way around. If political activities are so designed that only a very few can find pleasure in involvement, then governments of, by, and for the people will disappear from the face of the earth."

The essence of enjoyment requires a change in school perspective. But more than changes in attitude are necessary. There must also be augmentation of leisure-time personnel. One reason so many among us are unable to find pleasure is that there isn't anyone available to help. We are restricted to lonely and sedentary existence because there aren't enough naturalists, ski instructors, bowling instructors, discussion group leaders trained or employed.

The vacation that one anticipates for a year can turn out to be the identical rat race from which escape was sought. Our national parks are crowded and understaffed. Parents cannot be carefree, because young children need constant supervision. Adolescents may be bored because of the limited range of activities. Amateur fishermen do not have the expert advice needed to catch fish. None of these disappointments is necessary. Every national park can be a place of total enjoyment. Crowding can be reduced through creation of more recreational facilities. Every park can provide for total family enjoyment. A well-staffed day-care center included in the resources of the park can give children the things they want. Naturalists can open up the excitements of ecosystems to inquiring minds. Well-staffed marinas can make boating and fishing available to all. Guides can open up the wonders of wilderness and also protect them from being spoiled. The New Careers notion is critical to a leisure world that would bring pleasure to everybody.

THE STAFF FOR LIFE

If the school is to become a place where students can learn to live with themselves and their neighbors, then the attitude of the staff needs to be considered. The school cannot combat loneliness, scapegoatry, prejudice, drug dependency, and unhealthy sex attitudes unless there is a staff prepared to deal with such matters. Nor can it be expected that students will find enjoyment in school when the teachers are miserable.

The teacher need not be without hang-ups or problems, but he must be helped to deal with his own difficulties and at least be in control if he is to assist others. He need not be highly trained in psychiatry, but he must know how to use specialists for technical assistance and consultation. The teacher must be encouraged by his administration to be warm and supportive. He must feel free to experiment, while at the same time he must be required to be accountable.

Recruitment, pretraining, and in-service training of staff must focus on developing trust and openness in the teaching staff. They must also be educated to understand how a changing society changes all kinds of relationships. It is not sufficient merely to be sensitive technicians; teachers must also be scholars. They must learn how to question the nature of interpersonal relations and to struggle for new and better answers.

SUMMARY

One cost of a more complicated society is the complexity of intrapersonal relationships. Only as the school keeps up-to-date will it be possible for persons to truly enjoy life. Those attitudes which separate people from themselves and others must be confronted.

We have generated systems that destroy and overwhelm individuals. These are difficult problems, and we have run away from adequate solutions. Basically we have isolated and segregated, stigmatized and ignored. The school has not been helpful; frequently the school only adds misery to those already unhappy.

People will be happy when they have freedom to explore and access to persons who can help them weigh alternatives. The school can become that place.

Everyone must be allowed personal renewal. People need advocates and advisors. They need statutes of limitations to protect privacy. They need limitations on statutes to guarantee freedom. They need staff to make leisure worth the time it takes. Without immediate attention to these concerns, gains made technologically will be more than offset by growing alienation.

CHAPTER IX —

MAKING IT ALL FIT

[This, the finale, is a synthesis of the four goals. I discuss the dilemma of coherence in education and particularly the difficulty of

making education coherent over time. I suggest that *education for survival* in this time of ecological crisis is the umbrella under which all of education can be covered, and I conclude with a statement about the nature and organization of administration in schools which are directed to the achievement of competence in work, politics, culture, and personal well-being.]

Unless we can be surer than we are now that this generation has a future, nothing else matters. It is not good enough to give it tender, loving care, to supply it with breakfast foods, to buy it expensive educations. Those things don't mean anything unless this generation has a future. And we're not sure that it does.
—George Wald

All of this boils down to a few elementary facts. There is not enough food today. How much there will be tomorrow is open to debate. If the optimists are correct, today's level of misery will be perpetuated for two decades into the future. If the pessimists are correct, massive famines will occur soon, possibly in the early 1970's, certainly by the early 1980's. So far most of the evidence seems to be on the side of the pessimists, and we should plan on the assumption that they are correct. After all, some two billion people aren't being properly fed in 1968. —Paul H. Ehrlich

God first invented idiots, that was for practice, then he made school boards. —Mark Twain

Proceed to educational administration, a subject and a profession that imagination has touched even less than intellect.
—Kenneth Eble

What is defeat? Nothing but education. Nothing but the first step to something better.
—Wendell Phillips

Drugs nor isolation will cure this cancer.
It is now or never, the hour of the knife.
The break with the past, the major operation.
—C. Day Lewis

We need change — dramatic, wide-reaching total change. The poets write about the need. They communicate the feel, the sense of urgency. But their writings are not making it. The Chrysler Company and its Plymouth automobile *are* "making it." The poet describes, he doesn't prescribe. The poet is an outsider looking in and is repulsed by what he sees. But his detachment is his undoing. He writes laments for the half-living and then is driven to a half-life himself.

The educators who are poets compartmentalize themselves. The poet that is in them is kept aloof from the unpleasantries of administrative affairs.

The educators who predominate are not poets. They pride themselves on that. They are beneath such foolish sentimentality, and because in this world of reality where up is down — they flourish and they thrive. How do we combine a poet's sensitivity with a scientist's analytic ability and penchant for data and give that combination the stick-to-it-ivity and the persuasiveness for political effectiveness? The answer is the educated man I have been writing about. The person with these attributes has attained all four goals. How all four are tied together into one comprehensive whole is the concern of this final chapter.

EDUCATION — A MATTER OF BALANCE AND COHERENCE

Assigning different periods for work preparation, cultural development, and interpersonal growth would be as inappropriate as are the present systems of separate classes for art, music, history, language, algebra, etc. Education does not lend itself to that separation. Therefore it is impossible to provide a recipe or a blueprint. To the contrary, what is needed are activities which can be defended as appropriate to educational goals. The teacher as team leader has the responsibility for insuring balance and continuity. Everything done must be reconciled with immediate and long-range concerns. The student must perceive how everything that happens hangs together. If he is unable to appreciate the relationship, then his concern must be handled through the negotiation process described previously.

The school, to be a centripetal force in our coming-apart society, must: (1) provide a continuity for the present disconnected experiences, and (2) at the same time, provide continuity for future existences. These two distinct responsibilities are not easily reconciled. Some educators are only future-oriented, while others are concerned only with the student's present existence. Unless both kinds of continuity are established there can be *no* worthwhile education.

There are many ways imaginative teachers can bring a unity into education. Most of the classification used in education is arbitrary. Concepts offered in one place or time could just as readily be presented elsewhere. Using this book as illustration, the following things could be changed without ruining the sense of the message:

The implicit bias in intelligence assessment which was presented as a problem of career choice could just easily have been discussed in the chapter on culture-carrying competence.

The attributes of teaching within a democratic context, which were included in the chapter on Responsible Authority, are equally applicable to *any* other aspect of education.

Whitehead's insight into the rhythm of education is a concept that is as pertinent to the development of interpersonal competence as it is to the learning of language, where it was offered.

• The developing of a constituency of support, which was explicated under sex education, could have been subsumed under education for career choice.

The particular staging and phasing of any educational activity would have to accommodate the style and talents of the staff, as altered through negotiation with the student and further amended by pressures from other interested parties. This, of course, is what happens now, but because there is no clearly defined goal the process breaks down totally in the exchange. Issues are not decided on educational merit but purely on the ability to wield power. However, if the goals are clearly articulated and if all controversy is referred back to the goals, then many widely different paths may be taken without any distortion of the educational process. The process must be examined periodically to determine whether all parties are satisfied that progress is being made, and here there should be great precaution taken against the very likely possiblity that *all* the participants have deluded themselves by their enthusiasm. Every effective teacher *must* believe that he is accomplishing something worthwhile. But unfortunately, merely believing that something good is happening does not make it so. The self-delusion of educators, which later becomes educational policy, stands as one of the great barriers to reformation.

MAKING TODAY CONTINUOUS WITH TOMORROW

The balancing of today's educational activity with preparation for tomorrow's world is exceedingly difficult; at best we must rely on tenuous prediction. The lack of certainty is used by educators to avoid responsibility entirely — thus missing one of the important lessons that comes from the study of history. Because I believe that tomorrow is what we, who live today, will make it, I take a dim view of educational programs that are only "now" oriented. George Dennison describes a school concerned only with the problems of today in his book *The Lives of Children*. The book is a description, a defense, and a treatise of an experimental school, and, because many forward-looking educators are taken with the ideas advanced in the book, I would like to critically review it in the context of all that has preceded and use the criticism as part of a summary. George Dennison believes "That the primary concern of a primary school is not education in a narrow sense, and still less preparation for later life, but the present lives of children — a point made repeatedly by John Dewey, and very poorly understood by many of his followers."

Lives of Children is an account of the First Street School in Manhattan. The book is both a log of school activities and a discussion of educational philosophy. The school is the "mini school" that Paul Goodman advocates. In the year it existed it served 23 children, almost all poor, but otherwise diversified by race, ethnicity, and sex. The children ranged in age from 6 to 14. The school was staffed by three full-time teachers (all women) and one part-time teacher-director (a male). A philosophy of "freedom" undergirded all school activity. Drawing from A.S. Neill, Leo Tolstoy, and John Dewey, the director interpreted freedom as: (1) "Some true organic bond" that exists "between children's wishes and their actual needs"; and (2) By acceding to most of their wishes, children are encouraged into responsible decision-making (page 21).

The director (who is also the author of the book) is pleased with the results of the First Street School: "We were obviously doing something right and I would like to hazard a few guesses at what it might have been. All instruction was individual and that was obviously a factor. The improvement I am speaking of, however, was not simply a matter of learning but radical changes in character" (page 96).

The gains are attributed to the "now" orientation of the school, the elimination of conventional routine (especially those that give to the school a military or prison appearance), and the abolition of traditional administration. The author is adamant on this last point: "The present quagmire of public education is entirely the result of unworkable centralization

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"THE ATROCITY OF EDUCATION"

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and the lust for control that permeates every bureaucratic institution" (page 9).

I just wish that Dennison was correct. But I don't believe that the staff of the First Street School did many things right. I believe that they were less culpable than the staff in an ordinary public school. And while there is some solace in not "messing over" children to the same extent that occurs in regular school, that just isn't enough. Temporary relief from terror is not an acceptable goal of education. And that, I'm afraid, is all that the First Street School accomplished. At the end of the story there was no First Street School and children and staff had gone their different ways and the world, it was the old world yet. Dennison absolves himself of any long-range responsibilities: "Teachers have asked us what 'long range effects' we produced. People who have worked among the poor do not ask this question" (page 269).

Says who? That's one of the first questions I ask and that's why I have never been satisfied with demonstrations and pilot projects I have directed. None has ever produced the "long-range effect" sought. They did not eliminate, or markedly reduce, poverty, racism, neglect, etc. I now believe that unless a project is seen as part of a total strategy it is dubious that it has *any* value whatsoever. To me the distinction between a beachhead and a typical educational project is the commitment to long-range effects.

The First Street School differed from most elementary schools. It was loose and natural, there was much improvisation interspersed with conventional lessons, particularly in reading. A great deal of the activity was student-initiated. The staff was supportive. The school was a haven. Children had the opportunity to help others. It was a school of tours, confrontations, games, melees, and honest and warm tender groping for each other. It was a school where savage hatred and hostility were expressed. It was a school without restrictions on language. It was a school of pouting and horseplay. It was a physical school. Students and staff hit and fondled each other. It was a school with minimal inhibitions.

Dennison ticks off the school's strong points. Children who heretofore hated school came willingly to First Street. Children who had failed to score at all on standardized achievement tests scored higher than their grade level. Students who had been terrified of other children learned to play happily. Children learned to handle their hostility. A Puerto Rican boy and a black boy whose racial hatred in the beginning erupted into violence (which could easily have escalated into mayhem) became close friends by the end of the first year. I was moved by the description. However, I've seen it and heard it all before. It is the story that Maxwell Jones relates in his therapeutic community. Fritz Redl and David Wineman have done much the same thing with very aggressive youngsters. I haven't been impressed by the evidence of the past. I am not excited by its rediscovery now. The approach is deficient in its understanding of the nature of man and in its interpretation of the lasting impacts of oppression. In Chapter VIII, I argued that theory which looked clinically at victims of poverty, racism, bureaucratic intransigence, and nonredemptiveness was obsolete. I'm afraid that George Dennison operates with such a theory. He continually interprets the behavior of his students with a clinical perspective. His school sets out to repair the accumulated ravages of a hostile environment. Over and over again Dennison characterizes the students as "unstable," "disordered," "ignorant," "defeated," and "impoverished in sensory experience." He views adjustment to the streets as essentially pathological. The only true indigenous staff member, a Puerto Rican youth, had to be let go because he had been ruined by his environment:

> "He's a good athlete and is lively and outgoing, but his only models are the public-school authorities and the waddling cops of the PAL who can't even pick their noses except with aggressive and threatening gestures. In short, he's too much a product of streets, too prone to push the boys around and be censorious in a narrow and terribly authoritarian way."

There is distortion and nonredemptiveness in a program which postulates accumulated deficits from povety existences. I do not romanticize squalor, inequity, overcrowdedness, unemployment, unbearable summer heat and winter cold. They take their toll. They leave their scars. But it is not all negative. Much that is vital and valuable is learned in the struggle for survival. When only the pathological is emphasized the nonpoor are granted an exalted status that inevitably leads to their missionary stance toward the "unfortunate." Even when poverty *causes* a pathological response the disability may be neither accumulative nor chronic. That is, when the pressure is removed the problem ceases. I believe that very many of the symptoms associated with poverty will disappear — if not immediately — very quickly, if poverty is eliminated. Black feelings against whites are much less the result of the years of accumulated bigotry and much more due to the pervasiveness of current injustices. The black is angry because he is denied his rights — *today*! He is angry because he has a worse education, poorer health services, a lousier job, a more dilapidated house, less access to leisure, and more humiliation — *now* — than his white counterpart. Eliminate the injustices and the hate will also be largely eliminated. Dennison implies both chronicity and accumulation of effect in the students. Therefore he is able to explain away continued maladaptive behaviors. He never questions whether his school provided a true environment for healthy learning — and that some children could not respond to it at all and some others partially — or whether the lack of total response was because some of the inequalities of a racist society were incorporated in his school. From my own experiences I believe that the expectation of disability led to a perception of disability which, in turn, led to lowered intellectual challenge and a kind of colonialism in the school that I feel is ultimately defeating.

The school was to a large extent nonintellectual. One form of nonintellectuality was in the assessment of teaching qualities. Dennison agrees with Paul Goodman that adults who are literate and well-intentioned possess all the knowledge necessary for the education of small children, and if they have to be trained at all, they should be trained in group therapy, because those skills are the only ones that are useful. I will not defend teacher preparation (as presently constituted). I agree that any literate adult would not be any worse in the classroom than the ordinary teacher. But that misses the point. We don't need a new or different category of inadequate teachers. We do need well-trained teachers who themselves know a lot about subject material and the unique pressures placed on different children Some of this knowledge might come naturally, and, if so, it should be recognized and credited. But most persons need help. They need education and they also need training. (Review again Chapter III.) Even the best of us has glaring faults that need correcting. The staff of the First Street School had many unique and desirable talents. They also had some shortcomings. For example, they could not incorporate people with different attributes (a young street-educated Puerto Rican boy) into their staff. They didn't even have a plan for helping him. All they had was a negative set and a vague hope : "But we must give him a chance to get the hang of our style" (page 232), and after a bit they fired him. The dismissal was a strange contradiction because Dennison had earlier criticized school systems for not developing indigenous leadership in the school.

> "I believe, too, that a Puerto Rican, at home in both English and Spanish, and familiar with both cultures, could have helped Jose far more than I. This is so obvious, and there are so many mixed up Puerto Rican children in the city schools — whose average of intelligence, according to my impressions, is remarkably high — that one can wonder why this large-scale training and recruitment of Spanish-speaking teachers has never taken place (page 180)."

Large-scale training doesn't take place for precisely the same reasons Dennison didn't engage in small-scale training. The Puerto Rican isn't considered because whoever does the selecting rejects him because of his limitations. (Being "too much a product of the streets" is one such ascribed limitation.)

Dennison is nonintellectual in his approach to research in education. He mercilessly castigates Jerome Bruner because of his "mere intellectualization" (pages 249-256) and his "absorption" in "bureaucratic research." It is true that educational research is barren and not only unproductive but often downright silly. It is not an overstatement to describe educational research as pompous answers to trivial questions. But Dennison's rejection of research leads him to an unquestioning attitude toward his work. And that is every bit as fatal as retreat into "scientism." It is also a manifestation of an identical malady, a disease of the mind that leads to sloppiness, imprecision, aimlessness, and misplaced self-satisfaction. Dennison is convinced that his First Street School was on the right track. He would have us emulate his efforts — at least as a first step. He thinks it quite simple. All that is needed is a healing environment in which are placed teachers who are well-intentioned, mature adults. But what kind of an environment heals? "Precisely the ordinary one of children at play among themselves" (page 212).

In the end Dennison sounds just like those

hawkers of educational wares he despises. And, like them, he hasn't proved the worth of his product. We only have his word for its value. We don't know what would have happened to the children if First Street had not been available to them. I suspect that creating a natural healing environment is not as simple as he makes it sound. But go beyond that — assume that we could duplicate the school and assume further that the results attained at First Street are desirable, it is still not likely that, if attempted again or even if maintained in operation, the same good things would happen. There is such a thing as the "Hawthorne Effect." And this effect is a considerable factor in educational innovation. almost always the good results of an experiment evaporate over a time or when attempted again. That is one of the reasons educational innovation always works but education never changes. The experiment is done under optimum conditions never again repeated. Excitement and spirit accompany something novel. The experiment has a staff that is markedly different from run-of-the-mill teachers.The students feel the importance of the experiment and respond to it. The students are not representative of the target population. All of these factors may explain First Street's apparent success. Dennison allows that *his* enthusiasm was waning. He turned down an opportunity to go with staff and students on a summer trip. "They want me to go along, but I don't think I will. I've had my fill of children for a while." (Page 245) There was uniqueness in First Street; the staff very clearly had talents far beyond most mature and literate adults. And even the children may not have been typical school "rejects." The typical school "reject" might have resisted recruitment. There is a popular notion that once schools are subjected to careful evaluation the good in them is lost. Dennison, I fear, believes that, and therefore he is able — without a single conscience pang — to avoid research altogether and get in gratuitous cracks against researchers at the same time.

Dennison's most glaring fault is his lack of concern for intellectual activities in the curriculum of the First Street School. He doesn't believe that he has a responsibility to challenge the children. Children graduating from such a school would be educated for the stupidities Jules Henry says students cannot avoid in regular school. They would be stupid about "Labor," "Economics," "Communism," and "War." They would know something about "Negroes" and "Poverty," but the information might not be useful. If the goals presented here are used as standards, the First Street School comes up short in many areas.

The First Street School falls down completely in the matter of career choice. In many ways the school was overwhelmed by its surrounding poverty. Although priding itself on its reality orientation it was totally unreal about work. Neither the qualifications for existing work choices nor for an ideal work world are ever discussed. As a consequence of this oversight, 13- and 14-year-old youths were pointed to lifelong deprivation and economic isolation.

The First Street School was far more adequate in preparing students for democratic citizenship. The school was based on respect for students' rights, although even here there is not the consolidation of learning that I would like. Using Whitehead's notion of rhythm in education, First Street generated the "romance" of student rights but was remiss in the "precision" and "generalization" phases. The student at First Street did engage in important judicial, legislative, and executive decision-making although again, the means used were informal and primitive and thus were not transferable to out-of-school political systems In fact, the obvious distaste of the staff for the dirty, corrupted world of American politics, particularly big-city urban politics, communicated to the students a defeatism and cynicism that they just could not afford. The staff of the school appeared to function as responsible authorities. They did appreciate the differences in the children, were accountable to them and their families, negotiated program changes, recognized the inevitability of conflict, and tied rules to legitimate ends. In fact, the relationship of staff to students is the most commendable feature of the school, but this is not surprising, since the author insists that this relationship is the *only* important factor in the education of the child.

In culture-carrying, the First Street School was obviously better than most inner-city urban schools. The student was not reviled as an uneducable stupe — but he was not challenged either. It is difficult to determine what happened intellectually in the school, since those activities were never described and only through sketchy allusions was the reader given any clues at all. This can be interpreted (I think validly) that "cultural activities" were not very important at First Street. But that is not the total picture, because the school obviously benefited from the staff's natural propensities. They were a thinking group. Indirectly the importance of thought was communicated to students through informal discussions and other interactions. The formal structure, particularly the teaching of reading to those who were far behind, was pedestrial and the results were equally unspectacular. Jose, the Puerto Rican youth with a reading problem, never was able to see himself as belonging to a literate group, and he could not find many arenas where his limited skills could be put to use. The individualized nature of instruction, one of the school's most prized procedures, may have contributed to the problem. The lack of any extensive integrated group *intellectual* project shut Jose out from any opportunity to see himself as a reader. He was either confined to remedial study or was not participating. Neither alternate is acceptable, but I believe those are the only choices which schools run according to the First Street philosophy offer.

First Street struggled hard to assist students to become inter-and intrapersonally competent. The stupid rigidities which keep students from knowing each other in a typical school were eliminated. But the lack of intellectuality of the school hampered true personality growth. The efforts of students to overcome racial prejudices, for example, is certain to be futile if the work world demands that for survival those in the under classes must compete against each other. Willard, the black, and Jose, the Puerto Rican, at the end of the school year attain an arm-over-each-other's-shoulder friendship after a violent and seemingly irreconcilable enmity at the beginning, but I fear that their friendship is doomed to be short-lived. Back on the streets, going their separate ways, Jose and Willard, given the limited understanding they have about the relationship of credentialism and economics to racism, are certain to be caught in pressures that will destroy any good feeling they have for each other. They are owed something more than that! A good school would have helped them analyze who indeed each one of them was and why external forces shaped relationships and what was necessary for true and lasting friendships.

First Street lacked an integrating experience. It denied students knowledge about the very real threat of extinction. The student didn't know that man was burying himself in his garbage (even in the midst of a garbage strike, that fact could not be known). First Street students were not *informed* that population growth, plus consumption of resources, plus pollution, were bringing mankind to an imminent catastrophe and that population, consumption, and pollution must be studied, understood, and controlled if man is to survive.

ECOLOGY — THE INTEGRATING COURSE OF STUDY

It is possible to achieve education that is balanced, internally and externally, *if*, and only if, the central theme of study is man's survival. The study of ecology — the relationship between living organisms and the environment — must become education's binder. The study of ecology is the umbrella under which an intelligent review of work, politics, culture, and personal well-being becomes a coherent possibility. By relating all of education to the salient issue of man's survival, the chronic *school plagues* of dreariness, fragmentation, irrelevance, and humiliation of students can be bypassed or overcome.

The study of ecology provides a solid basis for supporting quality education for all. Education for everybody has a limited appeal to the "middle American" because the request has an altruistic ring to it. In effect, those with means are asked to pay for an education for those less fortunate than themselves. They, however, have been educated to believe that those for whom they are asked to sacrifice are unworthy, shiftless, and incapable of learning. Altruistic appeals are losers: Apart from some small tax-deductible donations, nothing much comes from them. But the ecological crisis changes all that. Now the appeal for universal education is based on self interest — and that's a winner! The average well-situated citizen has no alternative. He *must* support quality education for all because *his* survival depends upon *everyone* having the competence to deal with the forces that threaten human existence.

In approaching the study of ecology, children from their very initiation into school must be told the truth about the crisis. The basic equation of survival as a function of population limitation, consumption of resources limitation, and pollution abatement must be introduced early in a student's education career. This formula:

$$S = f\left(\frac{1}{\text{pop.}} + \frac{1}{\text{consump.}} + \frac{1}{\text{pollut.}}\right)$$

must be encountered and dealt with in greater sophistication through a lifelong educational process.

TO BE CONTINUED

3 Million March Against Shah Of Iran

(Tehran, Iran) - A two-day demonstration in this capital city earlier this month by some three million Iranians demanding an end to the rule of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi and a similar massive protest in Isfahan, which ended in a bloody anti-government riot when troops fired and killed at least nine persons, marked the largest and most serious of the recent wave of demonstrations and crippling strikes threatening the Shah's regime.

Widespread popular resistance to the pro-Western regime continues to mount in the face of brutal suppression by government troops, which have killed hundreds of demonstrators in recent weeks, including a possible massacre of over 1,000 here on December 2.

Thousands of protesters have been killed in the past year, including an estimated 4,000 on September 8, which has become known as "Bloody Friday."

HELICOPTER-BORNE TROOPS

In Isfahan, 300 miles south of Tehran, helicopter-borne troops opened fire on thousands of Iranians shouting, "Death to the Shah." The protest turned into open rebellion, with demonstrators badly damaging downtown banks and government buildings, including the headquarters of the notorious SAVAK, the country's secret police, and toppling statues of the Shah.

In addition to massive protests in Tehran and Isfahan on December 10 and 11, marchers also attacked banks and government buildings in the cities of Yazd, Mashhad and Yezd, and in each city statues of the shah were torn down.

Millions of protesters chanting anti-shah slogans and denouncing President Carter for his support of the shah marched through all of Iran's major cities.

In mid-December, a six-week-old oil workers' strike had cut production down to 1.3 million barrels daily, compared to six million normally. Iran is the world's second largest exporter of oil, and the crippling strike is the gravest threat to the 15-year-dictatorship of the shah.

About 2,000 American, British and other Western workers, guarded by several thousand soldiers armed with tanks and machine guns, have prevented a total shutdown.

The current regime was restor-

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BLACKS FORCED TO VOTE FOR PUPPET REGIME

SOUTH AFRICA HOLDS FAKE "ELECTION" IN NAMIBIA

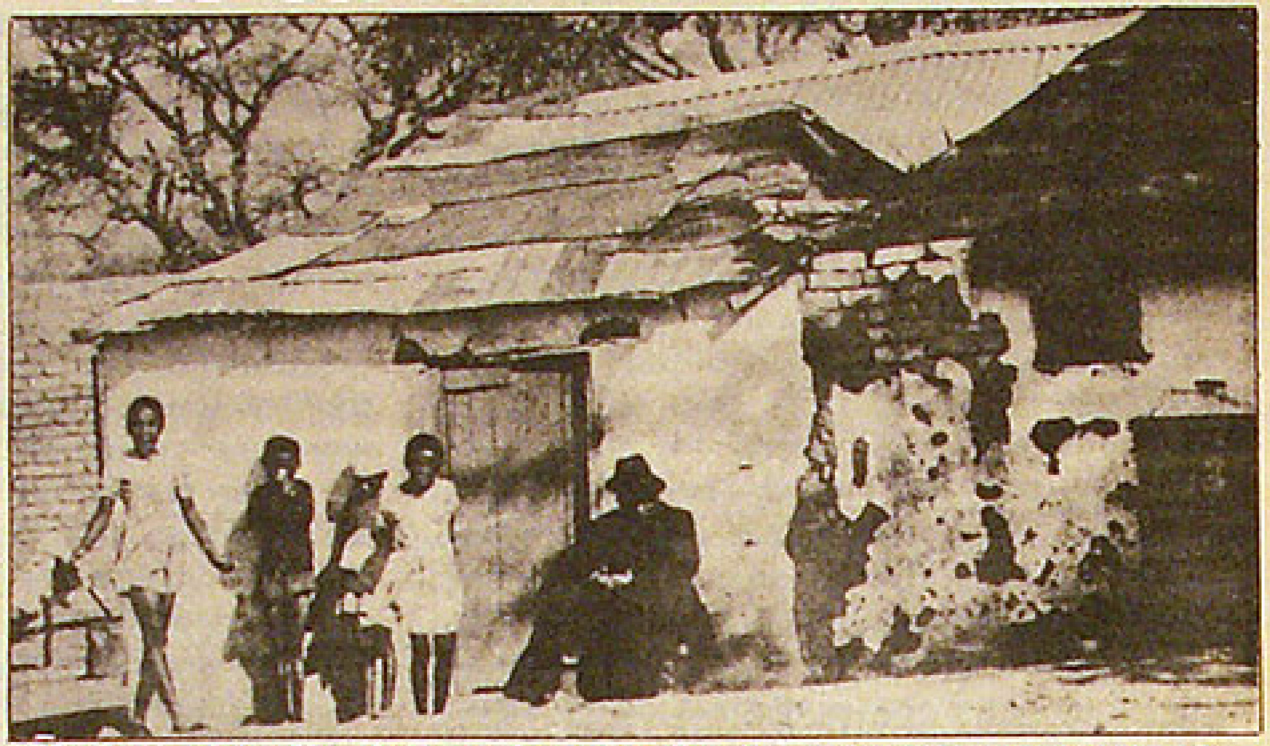
(Windhoek, Namibia) - Threatened by the mounting success of the armed liberation struggle, South Africa conducted bogus "elections" in Namibia earlier this month in an attempt to install a puppet government.

Sam Nujoma, leader of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), which is leading the armed struggle, accused South African troops of forcing voters to election polls at gunpoint.

South Africa took control of this former German colony under a 1920 League of Nations mandate. The White minority regime has occupied the southern African country of 900,000 Blacks and 100,000 Whites illegally since 1966, when the mandate was revoked by the United Nations, which does not recognize the sham election conducted this month.

In an attempt to suppress a highly successful effort by SWAPO, which is recognized by the U.N. as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, to boycott the election, six leaders of the group were arrested a day before voting began. The six were jailed just prior to a massive rally organized by SWAPO at which some 8,000 people in the Black "township" of Katutura outside this capital city protested the election.

The day before, 30 demonstrators were arrested after about 150



Black people in Namibia are forced to live in extreme poverty under the White South African regime.

supporters of SWAPO marched through the main street of Windhoek calling for a boycott of the voting.

Among the SWAPO leaders arrested was Dan Tjougarero, a vice president of the group. The six were imprisoned under the Terrorist Act, which allows indefinite confinement without charge.

"The elections in Namibia are a fraud," charged a Church of England layman, who was expelled from Namibia just prior to the voting, in a report released in London. "People are voting, not out of choice but because they have been forced to do so," said Justin Ellis.

The report, compiled by the Church Center of Namibia, a worldwide organization representing six major church groups there, gives more than 20 examples of coercion by the South Africans aimed at getting Black Namibians to register and vote. Included were threats of the loss of jobs, pensions and medical treatment, and the use of troops to promote registration.

In the polling booths, the *New York Times* reports, White officials were seen guiding many of the voters' hands as they marked their ballot, and in some cases filling in the ballot for them.

The voting was to elect a 50-seat constituent assembly, which is empowered to draft a new constitution.

In a bid to avoid the threat of economic sanctions, South Africa announced on the first day of polling that it will not turn over control of Namibia to the puppet

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Patriotic Front Destroys Rhodesia's Main Oil Depot

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - Patriotic Front guerrillas struck a crippling blow at the Rhodesian White minority regime earlier this month by setting fire to the government's main oil storage depot.

At least 15 tanks, each with a capacity of 750,000 gallons, containing fuel valued at $11 million were destroyed or burning more than 24 hours after rockets hit the refinery, just four miles from downtown Salisbury.

The blaze, which was set December 12, will probably burn out of control for several more days, threatening the entire 40-acre facility.

Meanwhile, Mozambique's official *Radio Maputo* announced an invasion of Rhodesian warplanes that began late last month, killing 26 people and injuring 93.

The radio report said that two Rhodesian Canberra jet bombers were shot down inside Rhodesia.

The raids were aimed at the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which operates refugee camps and military bases in Mozambique. ZANU, led by Robert Mugabe, and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), headed by Joshua Nkomo, are allied in the Patriotic Front, which is leading the armed struggle against the government of "Prime Minister" Ian Smith.

THE RAIDS

Mozambique said the target of the raids were in the region of Dondo, in eastern Mozambique, and in the Tete province, in the north, and the Gaza province, in the west.

Many of the casualties were civilians.

In a related development, a federal judge recently ordered United Airlines to pay $50,000 in penalties for having violated American sanctions against Rhodesia by training pilots from the Smith regime.

United was charged with having knowingly violated the sanctions by training pilots in Denver, Colorado, for a corporation called Affretair, a subsidiary of Air Rhodesia.

In Zambia, Patriotic Front co-leader Joshua Nkomo said that guerrillas blew up the depot in "yet another severe and crippling blow" to Rhodesia's staggering economy.

Front co-leader Mugabe said that the raid was an "operational strategy for Salisbury as well as the rest of the country."

The fire started in the Shell-British Petroleum section of the complex that also provides fuel storage for Caltex, Mobil and Total. Officials of all the oil companies here claim they are locally controlled and independent of the multinational firms with the same names.

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ASSASSIN OF B.P.P. MEMBERS REPORTED IN GUYANA

CONTINUED FROM COVER

Stiner, two brothers who worked for the FBI as "intelligence gatherers" in US. Following their 1971 convictions, the Stiner brothers were sentenced to San Quentin Prison but mysteriously "escaped" in 1975 during a family visit. Neither has been heard from since.

Perry, who was employed by the FBI from 1968 to 1975, said prior to January 17, 1969, he had seen Hubert and the Stiner brothers on "several occasions" at the FBI's Los Angeles headquarters.

Hubert was never brought to trial. Since he has been a longtime FBI agent, it is highly suspicious that the Bureau would now choose to blow his cover and reveal his whereabouts in Guyana.

In the affidavit Perry, a self-confessed FBI "intelligence gatherer," charged that he saw Brandon Cleary, the agent-in-charge of the "Black radicals" desk for the FBI in Los Angeles drive the getaway car for the three men who participated in the slaying of Bunchy and John.

"I recognized George Stiner, Larry Stiner and Claude Hubert from seeing them prior to this date [January 17] on the 14th floor of the Federal Bureau of Investigation building on several occasions," Perry said in the affidavit, "in the company of Brandon Cleary, the man I had seen driving them away from the Campbell Hall area" [the UCLA cafeteria where the murders took place].

"On or about the 17th of January, 1969, I was told to go to the University of California campus at Los Angeles and observe the activities in the cafeteria at Campbell Hall. This order was given to me in person by Cleary at the above mentioned FBI office. Agent Will Heaton was also present," Perry's affidavit said.

"I arrived there in the late morning and observed many members of the Black Panther Party and the US organization present in the room as well as other people not identified with either organization.

"I observed the situation in the cafeteria which seemed to be nothing more than a meeting and left for a short time to go to a parking lot located near the building. The parking lot is reached by proceeding down a pathway, across a street and then to the parking lot.

"Shortly after my arrival in the parking lot I heard shots from the direction of Campbell Hall.

"Within a few minutes I observed George Stiner, Larry Stiner, and Claude Hubert (also known as 'Chuchessa') jump into a 1967 or 1968 light tan or white, four-door Chevrolet driven by Brandon Cleary of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I saw this car drive away from the parking lot of Campbell Hall.

"I left the campus on foot and immediately went to FBI headquarters by bus. I inquired as to the whereabouts of Brandon Cleary at this time, and, was told he was not available. I am informed and believe that the four-door Chevrolet described above was the property of a man called 'Jomo,' a known member of the US organization, now deceased.

"I had been told to give a report within twenty-four hours of the incident to my supervising agent, Will Heaton, on the 14th floor of the Wilshire Blvd. Federal Bureau of Investigation building.

"A few hours later, I went to the building and met with my supervising agent, Will Heaton. While in his company, I observed George Stiner, Larry Stiner and Claude Hubert in the company of Brandon Cleary on the 14th floor of the Federal Bureau of Investigation building.

"I also learned that it was Claude Hubert who fired the shot that killed John Jerone Huggins and the same Claude Hubert who fired the shot that killed Alprentice 'Bunchy' Carter and not George or Larry Stiner.

Both Perry's affidavit plus an accompanying statement from Charles Garry, the noted longtime BPP counsel, were incorporated last year as a part of the BPP's $100 million lawsuit against the FBI, CIA and IRS.

During the month of December, 1969, the FBI plotted to eliminate southern California and all national leadership of the BPP, including the planned assassinations of Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale and others.

A LAYOUT

An ex-FBI agent provocateur has also revealed that he provided the FBI with a layout of the Southern California Chapter BPP office, located at 4115½ Central Avenue in Los Angeles, just prior to a police raid on December 8, 1969.

The Black former agent also said that Cleary told him that a Black agent provocateur in Chicago, now known to have been William O'Neal, put seco-barbital sleeping powder in some Kool-Aid he knew BPP Chicago leader Fred Hampton was going to drink the night the 21-year-old Illinois Chapter founder was murdered by Chicago police on December 4, 1969. □

EX-F.B.I. INFORMANT

CONTINUED FROM COVER

(BPD) unsuccessfully sought to link Huey to drug trafficking and prostitution and interviewed dozens of pimps and prostitutes for information as part of this effort.

Immediately after Smith was shot on an Oakland street, DuClot let police officers into the garage of 1200 Lakeshore, where, without a search warrant, they examined a car used by Huey.



HUEY P. NEWTON

The fiercely patriotic DuClot, who now lives in retirement near San Luis Obispo, California, was subpoenaed to testify at the Alameda County Superior Court hearing by Huey's attorneys as part of the defense's efforts to secure FBI, OPD, BPD, U.S. Treasury and other law enforcement agency documents which contain information verifying the agencies' conspiracy to frame Huey on drug and prostitution charges.

Alameda County Deputy District Attorney Thomas Orloff, who unsuccessfully prosecuted Huey this past fall on a trumped-up charge that he assaulted Black tailor Preston Callins, was openly angry at DuClot's appearance at the hearing, which was held before Judge Martin Pulich.

Orloff objected that DuClot's testimony would be "irrelevant" but Pulich, mindful of avoiding any legal errors in the case, allowed the sullen DuClot to answer a series of questions from defense co-counsel Paul Harris.

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SYNANON UNDER ATTACK

CONTINUED FROM COVER

ministers by the droves have visited the organization's numerous facilities, which are located in Chicago, Detroit, New York, Westport, Connecticut, throughout the state of California and overseas.

Over a dozen books have been written about Dederich and Synanon, and to this day, the organization's method of treatment serves as a model for numerous drug and alcohol rehabilitation programs across the country.

Like Jim Jones, before the government conspiracy to discredit and destroy Peoples Temple, Dederich was the subject of highly favorable press interviews and was sought after by public officials, including judges, politicians, educators and clergymen.

Events in America and throughout the world led to an important development within Synanon, beginning in 1968. Dissatisfaction over U.S. involvement in Vietnam, growing poverty among Black and other minority people, and rampant racism led the organization to open its doors to non-addicts and non-alcoholics, human beings — like those in Peoples Temple — determined to build a new society free of racism and oppression.

"It was very exciting," one Synanon member said of the group's development during this period. "We were going to create a new American institution, and we'd be the leaders. There was a vision that we could create a new world."

The vision was to eventually make Synanon the target of a vicious government attack, an attack that succeeded this month with the arrest of the ailing, 65-year-old Dederich on alleged charges of conspiracy to commit murder and assault and with solicitation to commit murder in the October 10 incident involving a rattlesnake attack on attorney Paul Morantz in southern California.

Dederich, who has a history of heart trouble, was seriously ill when he was arrested at his home in Kingman, Arizona. Given ridiculous bail of $500,000 (which was later reduced to $100,000), the Synanon founder was lying flat on his back, unconscious, when he was arraigned, a blatantly illegal procedure.

Another example of the stepp-

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Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators in Tehran, capital of Iran, have taken to the streets to protest the Shah's oppressive regime.

3 Million March Against Shah

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12

ed to power following a CIA-inspired coup against the National Front government of Mohammed Mossadegh, which threatened American oil interests. President Carter has reiterated that the shah "has our support" since the latest uprising.

Carter's support for the shah has angered anti-government protesters. About 1,000 demonstrators shouting anti-American slogans burned down the Iranian headquarters of the U.S. Grum man Corporation, an aerospace company, where the delivery of 80 F-14 jet fighters to Iran was recently made.

Demonstrators have taken to the streets almost daily in recent weeks. On December 9, troops killed 20 protesters in Tabriz, in western Iran for the third day in a row and troops attacked demonstrators for the fifth consecutive day.

The Tanzanian *Sunday News* reported a charge by demonstrators here that more than 1,000 protesters were killed December 2.

In an apparent attempt to cover-up the possible massacre, army troops beat up two reporters for *Newsweek* magazine and took them and a British journalist to jail.

The correspondents — Loren Jenkins and Barry Came of *Newsweek* and Kenneth Clarke of the *London Daily Telegraph* — were arrested when they emerged from their hotel to see what was happening on the streets. All three were later released.

The *Los Angeles Times* reported that 305 persons were buried in the city's main cemetery that night.

Highly disputed government reports admitted the killing of three persons here on December 4; at least 20 on December 3; and more than seven on December 1.

The Carter administration has continued to supply Iranian forces with "riot control" equipment throughout the latest conflict.

Widespread strikes in many of Iran's major industries continue to plague the shah. The official *Pars* news agency reported in late November that workers at the state-run Arvah Shapour Chemical Company in southern Iran had gone on strike, demanding political reforms.

Troops guarded the headquarters of the state-controlled National Iranian Radio and television Network after employees walked out to protest the government's refusal to allow seven national daily newspapers to publish without censorship.

A central figure in the current conflict in Iran is Ayatullah Khumayni, the exiled religious leader of the country's predominantly Muslim population. □

Patriotic Front

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12

As the oil tanks continue to burn, huge balls of fire have flown more than 400 yards across a rail line and plunged into a complex of factory buildings. The heat was so intense firemen could not get close enough to determine if the factories were set afire.

It has been estimated that the country had sufficient oil supplies for seven weeks before the fire. The fire has already reportedly destroyed about two weeks' supply.

United Nations-imposed oil sanctions against Rhodesia have forced the country to ration its fuel. □

South Africa Holds Fake "Election" In Namibia

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12

leaders who win the disputed elections.

The Security Council has set January 1 as the deadline for South Africa to accept and allow the implementation of the U.N. plan for independence in Namibia. The plan calls for the arrival on that date of the first contingent of a planned 7,500-member U.N. peacekeeping force to safeguard the territory's transition to independence. The proposal calls for U.N.-supervised elections next year, probably in July.

In an interview with the progressive weekly *Internews* before the election, Theo-Ben Gurirab, SWAPO's chief representative at the U.N. reiterated the demand for economic sanctions against South Africa and denounced the complicity of the U.S. and the Western powers in maintaining South Africa's rule in Namibia. Following are excerpts from that interview:

QUESTION: What is the status of the current negotiations on Namibia?

GURIRAB: After more than 19 months of painstaking, time-consuming talks, we are back to square one. Actually, it's worse. South Africa went ahead with its own elections to create a puppet regime in Namibia like the "internal settlement" in Rhodesia.

When we set out last year on this exercise initiated by the five Western members of the Security Council we had our doubts because of the Western powers' close ties with South Africa. We believe that armed confrontation is the only viable and effective method to liberate our country, but we have also always been willing to explore opportunities for negotiations.

But now we have reached a stage where the only thing that remains to be done in the face of South Africa's continued intransigence and defiance is for the Security Council to invoke Chapter 7 of the UN Charter calling for sanctions.

Q: But won't the Western powers veto any attempt at imposing sanctions?

GURIRAB: Yes, that is most likely. South Africa is being given direct and indirect support and encouragement by the West not to yield to international pressure.

Q: What does that mean for SWAPO?

GURIRAB: Under the circumstances, SWAPO has no other alternative than to continue to intensify our armed struggle. We face difficulties in this. Our enemy has amassed some 60,000 troops throughout our country. They are concentrated along Namibia's northern border where they pose a constant threat to Angola.

Q: Has there been any weakening in your support from the frontline states?

GURIRAB: The Western powers are exerting a lot of pressure on the frontline states. Many of them have enormous economic difficulties. They must get loans from international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which set certain conditions which must be met in order to qualify for loans and financial assistance.

So there are some problems created by that reality in southern Africa. But we have no reason to doubt that the support given us by all the frontline states will continue.

For SWAPO, two countries are of the utmost importance, Angola and Zambia. Most of our people and bases and refugee camps are now in Angola, and we have close cooperation with the Angolans which we expect to continue.

I should mention that events like the president of Uganda's invasion of Tanzania do not help our struggle. It diverts attention from the struggles in southern Africa and drains the resources of an important frontline country.

Q: A recent issue of *Business Week* has a long article on Namibia's mineral wealth, saying that six mining companies dominate the economy: De Beers, Rio Tinto Zinc, General Mining, Newmont, AMAX, and Falconbridge. It also estimates that last year Namibia contributed a net $460 million to South Africa's foreign reserves — equivalent to half of South Africa's year-end total. Isn't this why South Africa and the multinationals are so reluctant to leave?

GURIRAB: Actually, most of the difficulties we have presently in Namibia are a result of the fact that Namibia is endowed with enormous mineral resources. One-third of all South African De Beers' profits in diamonds come from Namibia. In the last few years, oil has been discovered offshore. We have something called wet gas. Of course, there is uranium. The British company, Rio Tinto Zinc, is already exploiting the uranium. There is copper in the north which is exploited by two American multinationals: Newmont Mining of Delaware and American Metal Climax of New York. □

EX-F.B.I. SPY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

At Orloff's objection, Pulich refused to allow Harris to question DuClot in detail about his illegal spying activities for the FBI for the three years prior to August, 1974. However, DuClot did say that sometime in the latter part of 1971 he met an FBI agent named Bill Weiskirch, who at the time, was assigned to the Bureau's San Francisco office.

According to DuClot, Weiskirch approached him about acting as an informant on Huey's activities and to report on who his visitors were.

During a recess in the lengthy hearing, Huey told reporters that DuClot "kept track of me in order for the police to frame me for the Kathleen Smith murder. DuClot was the point man who set me up."

The BPP founder went on to say that a group of drug traffickers put out a $10,000 contract on his life and that prostitutes and pimps were offered money and new identities for any information they could give to police to help frame him.

Following the recess, the defense and prosecution haggled over various law enforcement documents that Huey is seeking to obtain for the upcoming trial. During the discussion, which carried over to the next day, it was agreed that the defense would be provided with all records pertaining to electronic surveillance and opening of Huey's mail during August, 1974.

In addition, Pulich ordered the FBI, Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), ATF, OPD, BPD, and the Alameda County Sheriff's office to provide the court with all documents or notes of any interviews the agencies may have had with prostitutes or pimps who were witnesses to the Smith shooting.☐

SYNANON

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

ed up harassment against Synanon occurred this past June. Throughout its existence, the organization has always cared for hundreds of children, some of them whose parents were addicts or alcoholics seeking help. On June 2, 13 armed police officers and sheriffs' deputies raided Synanon's San Francisco headquarters and kidnapped two children whose aunt was seeking their custody.

The children's mother, who earlier died at Synanon, had asked the organization to care for her children.

It is noteworthy that both the Black Panther Party and Synanon have been the subjects of libelous cover stories within the last six months in *New Times* magazine. As the result of the New York-based magazine's 20-page story last spring on the BPP, snidely entitled, "The Party's Over" — which maliciously characterized Huey P. Newton as a "gangster" and the Party as an organization "operated like underworld hit men," the Party filed a $6.23 million lawsuit against *New Times* and the authors of the article, Kate Coleman and Paul Avery.

The November 27 issue of the magazine featured a similarly vicious cover article on Synanon, complete with a large snake on the cover.

In late November, *New Times* announced that it was going out of business in December. It is widely believed among poor people's organizations that the magazine was created by the CIA or another government agency to discredit organizations like Synanon, Peoples Temple and the Black Panther Party.☐

Black Death Row Inmates

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The Oakland-based Graham and Allen Defense Committee, which organized the protest, pointed out that the prosecution's three star witnesses, whose testimony is being challenged by the defense, all received early prison releases after they testified. One witness had a history of LSD flashbacks, supporters noted, while another who "positively" identified Graham and Allen testified that "all Black people look alike."

U.S. GOVERNMENT

The defense committee charged that "the U.S. government has always used the death penalty as a tool of genocide against Black people. Fifty-four per cent of the people executed since 1930 have been Black," the committee said, "and a White person has never been executed for the murder of a Black."

Meanwhile, the Utah Supreme Court granted an 11th hour stay of execution to halt the December 7 executions of two Black men convicted for allegedly killing three people while robbing a store in Ogden in 1974.

Dale Pierre, 24, and William Andrews, 23, would have been the first persons executed in the U.S. since Gary Gilmore was put to death by a firing squad in January, 1977.

Defense attorney Tim Ford charged that the two men were given the death penalty because they are Black men who killed White people.

Ford cited the case of two White men who tied a pair of French tourists to trees near Kanab in 1976 and shot them to death. He said Roger Kipp Andreason and Richard Wayne Brewer were allowed to plea bargain themselves out of the death penalty.

The two pleaded guilty to second-degree murder in the killings.☐

Jonestown Book Released, Movie Begun

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internal documents of any organization...and then very selectively release their content to the press. Any member of the media who accepts the material in this fashion then circulates stories based almost solely on the selected leaks is being manipulated by the government. This kind of 'reporting' is unfair and unethical."

Ron Shafer, a *Washington Post* reporter, said that he had had access to, and used as the basis of a story, documents which at the time were under court seal, and available only to the Justice Department.

A cursory review of the past stories of another reporter, Robert Rawitch of the *Los Angeles Times*, who reports on federal government matters, revealed his Justice-related stories to run about 20 to 1 in favor of the government at a time when Justice and FBI scandals were breaking almost daily.



Rev. JIM JONES leading Peoples Temple protest.

According to the Congressional hearings concluded in 1976, the FBI carried out over a period of years a large-scale clandestine program of media operations aimed at:

- •Providing derogatory information to the media intended to generally discredit the activities or ideas of targeted groups and individuals;
- •Disseminating unfavorable articles, news releases and background information to disrupt particular activities and groups.

In pursuit of these goals, FBI headquarters mobilized the resources of the Crime Records Division and solicited information from all FBI field offices "on a continuing basis", for "prompt... dissemination to the news media..."

Headquarters issued orders that "Every avenue of possible embarrassment must be vigorously and enthusiastically explored."

FBI activity did not stop with using media personnel to plant stories. The agency also recruited newspapermen as informants, as well. In 1968, for example, the Bureau approved a field office plan to get "cooperative news media" to cover closed meetings of anti-war groups for the purpose of "disrupting them," according to Senate documents.☐

EXCLUSIVE "FREEDOM" INTERVIEW REVEALS WIDESPREAD CORRUPTION

EX—F.B.I. AGENT EXPOSES USE OF INFORMANTS TO DESTROY B.P.P.






FBI informants (left to right) LOUIS TACKWOOD, MELVIN (Cotton) SMITH MAURICE (Mojo) POWELL and WILLIAM O'NEAL were used in attempts to destroy the Black Panther Party.

(Washington, D.C.) - Undercover FBI informants were active in promoting dissension between Black Panther Party President Huey P. Newton and former Party member Eldridge Cleaver, according to a retired FBI agent.

In an exclusive interview published in the December issue of *Freedom*, the monthly journal of the Church of Scientology, the ex-FBI agent, who worked for the Bureau for nearly 30 years before recently retiring, said that paid informants who infiltrated the Party "instigated fights" between Huey and Cleaver.

"You'd have an informer go tell Huey Newton something about Eldridge Cleaver, and another would go tell Eldridge Cleaver something about Huey Newton, hoping the next time they see each other they'll fight. It's documented in COINTELPRO (FBI Counterintelligence program) material."

The former FBI agent also verified the Bureau's role in setting up the assassinations of Illinois BPP leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark on December 4, 1969, in a predawn raid carried out by the Chicago Police Department. The ex-agent told *Freedom* that he learned from another FBI agent "that they (FBI) had set up Fred Hampton for the purpose of having the police come in and kill him..."

Until his retirement, the agent specialized in domestic intelligence, which includes various political and activist groups, such as Peoples Temple, Synanon, the American Indian Movement and the Black Panther Party.

For personally participating in hundreds of "black bag jobs" — the Bureau's term for burglaries — the agent was personally commended by late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, who awarded him a cash bonus for obtaining "valuable information" from "highly confidential sources," Hoover's term for stolen information.

The following is Part 1 of excerpts from *Freedom's* exclusive interview.

FREEDOM: The Department of Justice has stated that it would rather concede a $40 million suit being bought by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) against the FBI rather than divulge informant files. What is behind such an unusual move?

ANSWER: The FBI is trying to conceal that it has been doing a lot of unethical and illegal things over the years with FBI informants because there are too many instances of the FBI exposing informants, for example, making them testify at a criminal trial.

When the SWP case came to court, the Bureau asked every office for instances of harassment of informants to present to (Federal District Judge Thomas) Griesa. Associate FBI Director (James B.) Adams was arguing against the release of these files saying the exposure of informants only opens them to harassment and death threats.

But what he carefully failed to say is that informants are harassed and threatened by the agents themselves to make them testify, talk to a newspaper, get another informant, get information, etc.

If Judge Griesa or anyone else wants the real facts on the harassment of informants, they should see what FBI agents do to them. Adams knew this but he was deliberately misleading Griesa.

Q: What would be exposed if these 18 SWP informant files were released?

A: If only these few files were exposed I'm not sure just how many wrongdoings would be uncovered. My experience with informants in the Communist Party and the way the FBI worked with SWP informants and informants in general, I would be really surprised to find very clean FBI informant reports.

Q: What might be found instead?

A: Well, I would suspect that you would find informant reports that would be exaggerated, conjecture on the part of the agent, characterization of individuals based opon the agent's knowledge and not that of the informant.

You'd probably find numerous instances of lengthy, detailed informant reports where it is obvious that the informant could-not have remembered that much detail.

Q: Why is there such an obsession with informants?

A: It goes back to the early '50's, when someone did a survey and found that informants participated in a certain percentage of criminal cases. From that they thought, well, if informants are operating in x% of criminal cases, then if we have an increase in the number of informants, we can have an increase in the number of cases prosecuted.

Theoretically, that sounds great. But as a practical matter, everyone can't be an informant and all the agents can't develop informants because a lot of it is personal relations between the agent and the informant. Some of the agents just aren't kind enough because it takes a kind man to develop a good informant.

TO BE CONTINUED

The F.B.I. Plot Against Black Leaders

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Stone Rangers, to attempted frame-ups, to arresting and harassing over 2,000 Panther members, to repeated raids on their chapters, to infiltrating the group with agents, to publicly discrediting the Party through the media and to involvement in murder.

That the FBI was connected with the murders of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark is now public knowledge. A detailed account of the December, 1969, predawn police raid on the Party's Chicago headquarters is contained in Roy Wilkins and Ramsey Clark's book *Search and Destroy: A Report by the Commission of Inquiry Into the Black Panthers and the Police.*

In that bloody 4:45 a.m. massacre, a detail of plainclothes police, under the guise of a weapons search, stormed the headquarters and for 10 minutes pumped over 80 rounds of gunfire into the bodies of Hampton and Clark, killing them and seriously injuring four other people in the apartment.

Though the police version claimed they fired in self-defense, only one bullet was found to come from a Panther gun.

An autopsy of Hampton's body revealed he had been drugged with a massive dose of secobarbital, a finding that suggests his death was the objective of the raid and that police went to the apartment knowing Hampton would be incapable of defending himself.

PRACTICAL MATTER

Party members had made repeated attempts during the opening minutes of the raid to wake Hampton before police could reach his room.

Hampton's personal bodyguard, William O'Neal, turned out to be an FBI agent who made more than $10,000 on the deal, having fed information to the FBI on the Panthers from January, 1969, through July, 1970.

TO BE CONTINUED